

overall perspective system. Interestingly, his paintings often date years later than the drawings upon which they are based. As in the instance of his painting the *Church of Santa Maria della Febbre* (1961.9.34), Saenredam also occasionally worked from drawings done by other artists of buildings and places he had never seen. His relatively small oeuvre consists of about fifty paintings, some one hundred and fifty drawings, and a few prints executed early in his career.

Saenredam married Aefje Gerritsdr. on 5 December 1638 at Bloemendael. He and his wife had one daughter. Saenredam, who had extensive archaeological interests, owned an impressive library of scholarly works as well as a collection of paintings and drawings, which included an album of views of Rome by the sixteenth-century Haarlem artist Maerten van Heemskerck (see 1961.9.34). He had only a few students, among them Claes Cornelisz. van Assendelft (1627–1668) in the early 1640s and Claes Heerman the Younger (dates unknown) in the early 1650s. It has often been argued that he asked other artists to paint figures within his architectural compositions, among them Pieter Post, Adriaen van Ostade (q.v.), and Jan Both (c. 1615–1652). Saenredam was buried in Haarlem on 31 May 1665.

#### Bibliography

- De Bie 1661/1971: 246.  
 Van der Willigen 1870: 20, 261–262.  
 Swillens 1935.  
 Swillens 1961.  
 Paris 1970.  
 Ruurs 1983.  
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 Schwartz and Bok 1989.  
 Rotterdam 1991.  
 Brown/MacLaren 1992: 406.

1961.9.34 (1396)

### *Church of Santa Maria della Febbre, Rome*

1629  
 Oil on oak, 37.8 x 70.5 (1<sup>4</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 27<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>)  
 Samuel H. Kress Collection

#### Inscriptions

On paper attached to the base of the obelisk:  
*P. Saenreda. fē. / A° 1629*

**Technical Notes:** The support is a beveled horizontally grained oak panel with a slight concave warp. Narrow oak strips, possibly original, are attached to the edges. The vertical strips are sawn at regularly spaced intervals to counteract splitting of the wood. Neither the smooth, thin, white ground layer nor the paint extends onto the strips. Infrared reflectography reveals a loosely executed underdrawing that delineates the church architecture. Minor changes in two of the windows and some architectural details are visible between the drawn and painted stages (see fig. 3).

Paint, applied thinly with small brushes, leaves both the wood grain and individual brushstrokes plainly visible. The sky was laid in first, followed by the buildings, with the figures painted over the completed background, in an economical technique employing opaque wet-into-wet layering and thin scumbles and glazes. Figures and landscape are handled similarly and appear contemporaneous.

Abrasion is minimal. Discolored retouchings cover small losses found primarily along the bottom edge, in the church architecture, and the sky. In a selective cleaning, prior to acquisition, a layer of discolored, aged varnish was left over the dark foreground in the lower left and over a clump of bushes rising from the building at the left. The painting has not been restored since its acquisition.

**Provenance:** Frederick II, king of Prussia [1744–1797]. (Sale, Frederik Müller and Co., Amsterdam, 25 November 1924, no. 60); Anton W. M. Mensing, Amsterdam;<sup>1</sup> (sale, Frederik Müller and Co., Amsterdam, 15 November 1938, no. 96); (D. A. Hoogendijk, Amsterdam); J. A. G. Sandberg, Wassenaar, 1950; (D. A. Hoogendijk, Amsterdam, 1951); Frederick A. Stern, New York, in 1951; sold 1954 to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York.

**Exhibited:** *Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, 1597–1665*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam; Museum Fodor, Amsterdam, 1937–1938, no. 1. *Tentoonstelling Kunstbezit van Oud-Alumni Der Leidse Universiteit*, Stedelijk Museum Lakenhal, Leiden, 1950, no. 47. *Le Paysage Hollandais au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Orangerie, Paris, 1950, no. 82. *Pieter Jansz. Saenredam*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1961, no. 111.

A FASCINATING development in the Netherlands in the early seventeenth century was the appearance of city histories, books that recount the important events and personalities that had determined the character of the community and brought it fame. One of the most important of these was Samuel Ampzing's *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland of 1628*.<sup>2</sup> Ampzing, for example, felt a justifiable sense of pride when he recounted those painters whose works still brought glory to their native city even after their deaths, among them Maerten van Heemskerck (1498–1574), Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617), and Jan Saenredam (1565–1607), Pieter Saenredam's father. Ampzing illustrated his book with prints related to Haarlem's history that were based on drawings by various contemporary artists, including Pieter Saenredam. Saenredam's designs, which are among his earliest works, range from



Fig. 1. Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, plate from Samuel Ampzing, *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland*, Haarlem, 1628



Fig. 2. Maerten van Heemskerck, *Santa Maria della Febbre*, c. 1532, pen and ink, 79 D 2, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

maps depicting the history of the siege of Haarlem to a detailed rendering of the Town Hall beyond the Great Market Place (fig. 1). As is characteristic for Ampzing's approach, the print provided more than just an image of an important building: the poem inscribed beneath it stresses the building's historical and symbolic importance, both for Haarlem and the Netherlands.<sup>3</sup>

Ampzing's book was but one manifestation of a broader need for the people of this newly formed

country to trace their roots, emphasize their cultural heritage, and build a mythology that could define their place in history. Saenredam must have felt this impulse keenly; for throughout his career he carefully recorded, with annotated drawings and paintings of public buildings, both the world that he saw about him and the one he could reconstruct from careful examination of physical and documentary evidence.

It must have been in large part because of this impulse to immerse himself in his own heritage that Saenredam, at the very beginning of his career, turned so enthusiastically to Maerten van Heemskerck's drawings of antiquities. The most visible manifestation of Saenredam's interest in Heemskerck is this painting of *Santa Maria della Febbre*, 1629. Saenredam based his scene upon a drawing from Heemskerck's famous Roman sketchbook, which was filled with images of antiquity that the Haarlem artist had executed in Italy almost a century before.<sup>4</sup> The sketchbook had remained in Haarlem and was at this time in the proud possession of one of the foremost painters of the day, Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem (1562–1638).<sup>5</sup> Saenredam probably had access to the sketchbook, which he would eventually acquire, because of family connections to this important artist.<sup>6</sup>

As is evident later in Saenredam's life, from the contents of his large library, the artist had broad humanistic interests, ranging from the history and development of the Netherlands to the literature of antiquity.<sup>7</sup> Heemskerck's sketchbook provided him with a fascinating glimpse into one part of this world, Rome, a city he had never and would never visit. Studying the sketchbook also gave him an opportunity to learn from the earlier master's sense of line and composition components of his own work that were of particular concern to him. Saenredam based at least four paintings on this sketchbook and executed them over a fifteen-year period. The earliest, *Church of Santa Maria della Febbre, Rome*, is dated 1629, while the last was painted in 1643.<sup>8</sup>

The drawing in the sketchbook that Saenredam took as his point of departure for *Santa Maria della Febbre* (fig. 2) depicts a complex building mass situated at the Vatican in the center of Rome.<sup>9</sup> In the foreground rises the Vatican obelisk (*agulia Sancti Petri*), distinguishable by the bronze ball at the top.<sup>10</sup> Behind the obelisk is the round structure of a second-century Roman mausoleum, which in the sixth century became known as the Church of San Andrea and later as *Santa Maria della Febbre*. After 1506 it was converted into the sacristy of Saint Peter's, a function it served until it was demolished in 1776.<sup>11</sup>



Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, *Church of Santa Maria della Febbre, Rome*, 1961.9.34



Fig. 3. Detail of infrared reflectogram of 1961.9.34

Looming behind Santa Maria della Febbre is the towering structure of Saint Peter's, showing its state of construction in the 1530s. Visible here from the southeast are the huge pillar and coffered vault of the crossing as well as the coffered vault that connects to the façade of the sacristy. The irregularly shaped buildings to the right enclose chapels built along the southern aisle of Old Saint Peter's. One of these, Cappella del Coro, is located just to the right of the arched entrance to the complex. Its apse corresponds to the projecting circular shape of its roof. On the adjacent structure hangs a reminder of the pope's presence: the papal tiara displayed with ribbons from which hang two keys.

The drawing is a fascinating historical document, for it depicts a stage during the construction of Saint Peter's that has been difficult to reconstruct. By the time Saenredam laid eyes on the Heemskerck sketchbook, the situation had changed radically, not only through the construction of the imposing dome designed by Michelangelo, but also through the removal of the obelisk to Saint Peter's Square.<sup>12</sup> Saenredam, however, made no effort to update the architecture or to represent the dynamic character of Rome. Quite to the contrary, he placed the buildings in a country setting and depicted foliage growing from the structures, as though Santa Maria della Febbre were an abandoned building or Saint Peter's an ancient ruin. He reinforced this feeling by modulating the surfaces of the buildings with subtle touches of pinks and oranges that suggest age and venerability.

It would seem that Saenredam, given his humanistic leanings, would have recognized the buildings in Heemskerck's drawings. Nevertheless, it is telling that he neglected to paint the circular roof defining the apse of the Cappella del Coro, which is clearly delineated in the drawing. Such an omission indicates that he was unaware of the character of that building. That he did not follow Heemskerck's design slavishly is also evident from infrared reflectography, where the initial underdrawing is revealed (fig. 3). As it turns out, Saenredam made a number of adjustments in his composition, from eliminating windows to changing the perspective of the round structure of Santa Maria della Febbre itself. The pattern of changes suggests that he was interested in simplifying the structure and flattening the image.

One senses that Saenredam saw in Heemskerck's stark drawing images of architecture he associated with antiquity. Saenredam apparently sought to emphasize the age and venerability of the architectural setting, while at the same time to suggest the continuity of the Catholic presence in Italy through the staffage figures and the papal tiara attached to the wall of one of the buildings. This approach seems to be a visual counterpart to the literary historicizing to which he had been exposed through his involvement in Ampzing's *Beschryvinge*. The evocative power that this painting thus assumes makes it one of the most fascinating of Saenredam's early works.

One unresolved issue with the painting is whether the staffage figures—the cardinal riding in a horse-

drawn wagon and the two accompanying gentlemen dressed in seventeenth-century costumes—were actually executed by Saenredam or by Pieter Post (1608–1669), an artist-architect who joined the Saint Luke's Guild in Haarlem in 1628.<sup>13</sup> While the figures in this work are not inconsistent with Post's style, an attribution to him must remain tenuous since his first known dated paintings are not until 1631.<sup>14</sup> That a relationship between Post and Saenredam existed seems probable because of the broad, simplified character of the distant landscape, which is consistent with Post's work of the early 1630s.

#### Notes

1. A copy of the 1924 Müller auction catalogue cites Huber as the buyer. If this is true, he may well have been acting as an agent for Mensing.
2. Ampzing 1628.
3. The poem emphasizes both the historical importance of the Town Hall as the palace and home of Willem II, Duke of Holland, and the honor it had brought to the city as a symbol of justice. The poem ends with a broad statement on the importance of justice as a foundation for the country.
4. See Hülsen and Egger 1913–1916 (reprint ed. 1975). Heemskerck was in Rome between 1532 and 1536. Not all of the drawings in this sketchbook are now believed to be by Heemskerck. At least two other hands have been identified. See, in particular, Veldman 1987, 369–382.
5. When Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem died in 1638, he had in his estate “Het treffelyck getekent boeckje van Mr. Maertyn Heemskerck nae alle de fraiste antique van Roma.” See Bredius 1915–1922, 7: 83; and Schwartz and Bok 1989, 324, note 26.
6. For a discussion of the relationship of Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem to Saenredam see Schwartz and Bok 1989, 23. That Saenredam eventually acquired the drawings seems probable given the announcement for the sale of his collection of graphic art after his death in 1669, which included “many drawings by Maerten van Heemskerck... made... from life in Italy.” For a hypothesis on how this acquisition came about see Schwartz and Bok 1989, 185.
7. The contents of his library are described in the catalogue for the sale of his collection, which was held on 20 April 1677. The catalogue, discovered by Bert van Selm, has been analyzed, in part, by Schwartz and Bok 1989, 181–187.
8. The other paintings based on this sketchbook are: *The Colosseum, Rome*, signed and dated 1631 (Girardet Collection, Kettwig-Ruhr); *View from the Aracoeli, Rome, towards the Colosseum in the South*, signed and dated 1633 (formerly Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orleans, but destroyed in 1940); *Portico of the Pantheon, Rome*, signed and dated 1643 (private collection). These paintings are included in Schwartz and Bok 1989 as, respectively, cat. nos. 113, 112, 114.
9. The first art historian to connect the painting with the drawing, which is fol. 72r in the sketchbook, was Van Regteren Altena 1931, 1–3. He argued, on the basis of this information, that Saenredam had never traveled to Italy. Veldman 1987, 369–382, attributed the drawing in the Heemskerck sketchbook to another hand, “Anonymus B.” For the purposes of this entry the designation “Heemskerck” will be used when referring to this drawing.

10. The following description of the buildings is largely based on Hülsen and Egger 1975, 7 (from the description of the plates in the second volume).

11. This information has been gleaned from Janson 1963, 97.
12. For a depiction of the site from a similar point of view in the early 1580s, showing the dome under construction, see Washington 1988b, 101, fig. E.
13. Gudlaugsson 1954, 59–71.
14. The Hague 1980, 77–79, cats. 765–766.

#### References

- 1931 Van Regteren Altena: 1–13, repro. 2.  
 1935 Swillens: 8, 83 no. 38, repro. 28.  
 1937–1938 Rotterdam: no. 1.  
 1938 Trivas: 154–155.  
 1948–1960 Bernt, 3: no. 1017, repro.  
 1950 Paris: no. 82.  
 1951 Bersier: 102 note 1.  
 1956 Kress: 158–159, no. 61, repro.  
 1959 Kress: 323, repro.  
 1960 Plietzsch: 123.  
 1961 Swillens: 164–165, no. 111, pl. 115.  
 1961 Seymour: 156, 158, repro.  
 1962 Pensa: xi, repro.  
 1965 NGA: 119, no. 1396.  
 1968 NGA: 107, repro.  
 1970 Cologne: (cited in discussion of no. 48).  
 1975 NGA: 318–319, repro.  
 1976 Walker: 298, no. 400, repro.  
 1977 Eisler: 141–142, fig. 129.  
 1985 NGA: 365, repro.  
 1989 Schwartz and Bok: 73, color repro., 76, 272, no. 111 (also 1990 English ed.).

1961.9.33 (1395)

### *Cathedral of Saint John at 's-Hertogenbosch*

1646  
 Oil on oak, 128.9 x 87 (50% x 34¼)  
 Samuel H. Kress Collection

#### Inscriptions

On the left choir stall:

A° 1646/ pieter Saenredam dit geschildert/de sintjans kerck in  
 sbartogenbosch

On right escutcheon behind the altar:

AL. BERTO AVSTRIA CO  
 1621  
 PATRI PATRIAE SILVA-DVCIS DICAT  
 CONSECRAT

On left escutcheon behind the altar:

1598

**Technical Notes:** The cradled support panel is composed of three vertically grained oak boards. Dendrochronology gives a felling date of approximately 1630 for all three boards.<sup>1</sup> Board widths are roughly equal at left and center and slightly